

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-14 ISO-00 IO-14 DPW-01 AID-20

ACDA-19 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 CIEP-02 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /186 W

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R 281204Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1538

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 1681

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, HU, PL

SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD ICCS
INSPECTION SITES

REFS: STATE 128192; BUDAPEST 0647 OF MARCH 19

1. SUMMARY. I CALLED ON STATE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MARJAI JUNE 25 (WHO HAD SHORTLY RETURNED FROM BULGARIA) TO CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL. WE HAD TWO-HOUR DISCUSSION ON TOPICS RAISED PARAS THREE THROUGH SIX (LOCATION AT SITES AND BUDGET; SEE SEPTTEL FOR LATTER). MARJAI'S COMMENTS MADE IT APPARENT FURTHER WITHDRAWALS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION. HE AGAIN MADE EXTENSIVE CASE THAT REASONS WERE FOR SECURITY AND IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE SVN PLACING MILITARY INSTALLATIONS NEAR SITES. HE DID SAY, THOUGH I DO NOT THINK HE SERIOUSLY MEANS IT, THAT GOH WOULD CONSIDER WHETHER TO RETURN TO SITES PREVIOUSLY ABANDONED IF THEIR MILITARY AGREED SECURITY HAD IMPROVED. THIS MAY BE WORTH EXPLORING FOR DIPLOMATIC PURPOSES. END SUMMARY

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2. I FIRST ASKED MARJAI WHETHER AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT RETURN HOME FOR CONSULTATIONS OF AMBASSADOR LORINCZ-NAGY THE GOH HAD ANY NEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE VIETNAM SITUATION OR ICCS. MARJAI REPLIED THAT LORINCZ-NAGY, LIKE THE DELEGATION LEADERS OF THE THREE OTHER ICCS MEMBERS (WHO HAD COORDINATED), HAD COME HOME SIMPLY ON ROUTINE CONSULTATION AND VACATION. HE IMPLIED THAT NO SIGNIFICANT SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD OR DECISIONS WERE TAKEN.

3. I THEN READ CONTENTS PARA THREE AND FOUR. I EMPHASIZED THAT SECURITY CONDITIONS IN SOME OF THE SITES FROM WHICH HUNGDEL HAS WITHDRAWN ARE NOT AS DANGEROUS IN OUR OPINION AS GOH SUGGESTS. ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT IN OTHERS FROM WHICH THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY WITHDRAWN SECURITY CONDITIONS HAVE IMPROVED AND THAT, THEREFORE, A RETURN TO THOSE SITES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY GOH.

4. MARJAI PROCEEDED AT SOME LENGTH THROUGH SECURITY LITANY HE GAVE ME IN LAST CONVERSATION (REF B) STATING THAT ANY EXPOSURE WHATEVER TO DANGEROUS CONDITIONS BY HUNGDEL MEMBERS WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO GOH, THAT UNDERTAKING OF COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN ICCS WAS MADE ON ASSUMPTION THAT IT WAS A CONTROL AND SUPERVISORY COMMISSION AND NOT AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE EMPOWERED TO ENFORCE A CEASE-FIRE, MAINTAIN A WEEK-TO-WEEK CEASE-FIRE LINE, OR TAKE DIRECT ACTION TO MEDIATE DISPUTES STEMMING FROM DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENTS. MARJAI FURTHER SAID THAT THE GOH CONSIDERED THE QUOTE SAIGON REGIME UNQUOTE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SECURITY SITUATION FOR MAINTAINING TROOPS, EQUIPMENT, MUNITIONS AND FIELD ARTILLERY IN AREAS IN THE IMMEDIATE PROVIMITY OF THE INSPECTION SITES, THUS GIVING THE APPEARANCE OF WANTING TO DELIBERATELY INTERFERE WITH THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ICCS. MAINTAINED THERE WAS NO DIFFERENCE WITHIN ICCS ABOUT EXISTENCE OF THE PROBLEM--ONLY ABOUT ITS MAGNITUDE.

5. MARJAI SAID GOH POLICY WAS FOR "A PEACEFUL SOLUTION BY POLITICAL MEANS" IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARIS AGREEMENTS, WHICH WERE GOH "BIBLE", PERHAPS MORE SO THAN WITH ANYONE ELSE. GOH WOULD CONTINUE ITS PARTICIPATION IN ICCS, THOUGH THEY HAD NOT SOUGHT IT, HAD FOUND IT DIFFICULT, AND THOUGH BECAUSE CONFIDENTIAL

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OF MALFUNCTIONING OF TPJMC IT COULD BE SAID THAT ICCS ROLE WAS "ILLEGAL."

6. HE SAID THEY HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THE TWO NEW SITES BECAUSE LIVES OF THEIR MEN WERE IN DANGER AND THEY WERE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT SECURITY SITUATION IN THE OTHER FOUR. WHILE THESE MATTERS COULD BE DISCUSSED IN ICCS, GOH HAD TO MAKE ITS OWN DECISIONS ON SECURITY OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. SINCE OTHER

ASPECTS OF AGREEMENTS WERE BREAKING DOWN, HE DID NOT SEE HOW THE ICCS BY ITSELF COULD MAKE UP FOR THE FAILURE TO FUNCTION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS SET UP TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS BY THE FOUR SIDES DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

7. I REPLIED THAT WE DID NOT REGARD THE ICCS AS ENFORCEMENT MACHINERY AND DID NOT EXPECT THE ICCS TO ASSUME UNDUE SECURITY RISKS OR A GREATER ROLE THAN IS ASCRIBED TO IT. NEVERTHELESS UNDER DIFFICULT CONDITIONS IF THE ICCS WERE TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES, INCLUDING REMAINING AT THE INSPECTION SITES, IT COULD PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN DETERRING FIGHTING. HE HAD SAID GOH FAVORED PEACEFUL SOLUTION. PHYSICAL PRESENCE IN SITES WAS ONE WAY GOH COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THIS. NOT EVERYONE WAS CONVINCED SOLE REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL WAS SECURITY. I NOTED SECURITY CONDITIONS HAD IMPROVED AT SOME SITES FROM WHICH GOH HAD PREVIOUSLY WITHDRAWN AND ASKED WHETHER GOH GIVING CONSIDERATION TO RETURNING TO THEM.

8. MARJAI TALKED AROUND ISSUE FOR SOME TIME BUT CONCLUDED THAT PERHAPS IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER RETURNING TO SOME SITES IF THE HUNGDEL LEADER ON THE SPOT WERE TO AGREE THAT CONDITIONS HAD INDEED IMPROVED, BUT THAT THIS AUTHORITY WAS PRIMARILY DELEGATED TO THE FIELD AND THE MFA WOULD NOT WANT TO SUPERSEDE THE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE ON THE SPOT. IN ANY CASE, MARJAI RE-EMPHASIZED, IT WAS THE GOH POSITION THAT ANY DANGER WHATEVER WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO IT AND THAT THEY WERE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE LOSS OF EVEN ONE MORE LIFE IF THEY COULD PREVENT IT. HE SAID UNACCUSTOMED AND DIFFICULT CLIMATIC AND LIVING CONDITIONS WERE ALSO CREATING SEVERE HEALTH PROBLEMS FOR SOME OF THEIR MEN. HE FURTHER CITED THE EXAMPLE OF THE RECENT SVN AMMUNITION STORAGE EXPLOSION
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AT THE PHU BAI SITE AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE DANGEROUS CONDITIONS EXISTING SAYING THAT IN THAT CASE HUNGDEL MEMBERS WERE NOT EVEN AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE DEPORT UNTIL THE EXPLOSION AND IT WAS A MIRACLE THAT NO ONE WAS KILLED OR INJURED. HE SAID THE IRANIANS AND INDONESIANS WERE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT SECURITY PROBLEMS, THOUGH THEIR CONCLUSIONS WERE NOT ALWAYS THE SAME.

9. I URGED MARJAI ONCE MORE TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO THE RETURN OF THE HUNGDEL MEMBERS TO THE SITES WHERE SECURITY CONDITIONS HAVE IMPROVED AND THAT THE GOH SHOULD GIVE MAXIMUM SUPPORT TO THE BEST POSSIBLE FUNCTION OF THE ICCS AS ITS CONTRIBUTION TO PEACEFUL SOLUTION HE HAD REITERATED TO BE GOH POLICY.

10. COMMENT: FROM TONE OF MARJAI'S COMMENT THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE COMMUNIST DELS WILL WITHDRAW FROM FURTHER SITES IN FUTURE. SECURITY CONCERN HERE IS A REAL ONE, IF LUDICROUSLY MAGNIFIED. IT IS ALSO AT SAME TIME OBVIOUSLY A CRUTCH ON WHICH TO LEAN DECISIONS TAKEN FOR OTHER REASONS. I DO NOT HAVE ANY REASON TO THINK IT WOULD PRODUCE ANY ACTUAL CHANGE IN THEIR DEPLOYMENT BUT WE MIGHT EXPOSE THINNESS OF SECURITY RATIONALE ARGUMENT IF WE COULD PICK A COUPLE OF PREVIOUSLY EVACUATED POSTS WHERE THERE ARE NO LONGER ANY NEARBY SVN INSTALLATIONS AND ASK POLES AND HUNGARIANS TO RETURN TO THEM.
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